## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AID-01 SS-07 EUR-08 NSC-06 ISO-00 SSO-00

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O R 021754Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5879

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

DIA WASHDC

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

CONFIDENTIAL LISBON 0727

CODEL BARTLETT

PLEASE PASS P - WISNER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (BARTLETT, DEWEY F.)

SUBJECT: CODEL BARTLETT: VISIT TO LUANDA

REF: LISBON 725 (DTG 021623Z FEB 76) (NOTAL)

- 1. SENATOR DEWEY BARTLETT AND STAFF AIDE FREDERICK RUTH TRAVELLED TO LUANDA, ANGOLA, ON JANUARY 31 AND RETURNED FEB 2. EMBASSY HAD OBTAINED A SAFE CONDUCT DOCUMENT ISSUED BY THE ANGOLA HOUSE, MPLA'S UNOFFICIAL OFFICE HERE. UPON HIS RETURN TO LISBON, SENATOR BARTLETT PASSED ON THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:
- 2. TREATMENT: THE MPLA DID NOT ROLL OUT THE RED CARPET, NOR DID IT GO OUT OF ITS WAY TO WOO THE SENATOR. THE SENATOR SPENT TWO HOURS WAITING FOR HIS LUGGAGE IN THE AIRPORT AFTER ARRIVAL, AND THE FIRST APPOINTMENT DID NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL 4:00 PM THE NEXT DAY. ON THE OTHER HAND THEIR TREATMENT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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CORRECT AND THE CODEL SAW THREE OF THE TOP MPLA

LEADERS. THE SENATOR SPECULATED THAT SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED WERE DUE TO THE MPLA'S DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE CODEL HAD ONLY ONE DAY IN LUANDA, AND A SUNDAY AT THAT. ALSO, THE MPLA SEEMED PREOCCUPIED WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE FEB 4 CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE MOVEMENT. THE CODEL STAYED AT THE CONTINENTAL HOTEL AND WAS ASSISTED BY LOCAL EMPLOYEES FROM THE FORMER US CONSULATE. CONSULATE LOCALS TRANSLATED AT THE MEETINGS, EXCEPT WITH LUCIO LARA, WHO SPEAKS GOOD ENGLISH.

- 3. MEETINGS: CODEL MET WITH PRIME MINISTER LOPO NASCIMENTO, FOREIGN MINISTER JOSE EDUARDO, AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER LUCIO LARA. CODEL FOUND NASCIMENTO CORDIAL AND FORTHRIGHT. HE GAVE MOST HONEST ANSWERS, LAUGHED EASILY, AND SEEMED CALMEST OF THE THREE LEADERS. AT ONE POINT HE SAID MPLA ARE "BLACK PORTUGUESE." EDUARDO SEEMED VERY YOUNG AND QUIET, WHILE LUCIO LARA PUSHED THE MPLA PROPAGANDA LINE HARDEST.
- 4. FUTURE MPLA GOVERNMENT: QUERIED ABOUT WHAT MPLA SOUGHT IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT, THE MPLA REPRESENTATIVES TALKED VAGUELY ABOUT "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM" BUT DID NOT KNOW IN WHAT FORM. THEY DENIED THAT A FUTURE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE COMMUNIST. NASCIMENTO SAID AT ONE POINT THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD BE THEIR CLOSEST MODEL, NOTING THAT THE YUGOSLAVS "WERE THE BEST DIPLOMATS IN THE WORLD." THE MPLA LEADERS SAID A COALITION GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE; THAT HAD BEEN TRIED ALREADY WITH BOTH UNITA AND FNLA AND HAD FAILED. THE IDEA WAS PASSE.
- 5. FOREIGN RELATIONS: EDUARDO SAID MPLA SOUGHT NON-ALIGNED GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD BE FRIENDLY WITH AFRICAN AND SOCIALIST REGIMES. NASCIMENTO SAID THAT MPLA INCLINED TOWARDS THE WEST, AND ANGOLA WAS BASED ON WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. MPLA WOULD ACCEPT WESTERN TECHNICIANS. IN ANY CASE, ALL AID MUST BE WITHOUT CONDITIONS AND THIS INCLUDED CUBAN AND SOVIET ASSISTANCE. LARA CLAIMED THAT AFTER THE ALVOR ACCORDS, FNLA HAD VIOLATED AGREEMENT BY STATIONING 5,000 TROOPS IN LUANDA. SOVIET AID HAD BEEN REQUIRED TO OFFSET US AND SOUTH AFRICAN ASSISTANCE TO FNLA. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT MPLA WOULD BE "FLEXIBLE" IN ITS RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. "AFTER ALL, MPLA HAD NOT BEEN THE AGGRESSOR"

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6. MILITARY BASES: EDUARDO AND THE OTHERS SAID THERE COULD BE NO FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN ANGOLA. THIS WAS A "SACRED PRINCIPLE." NOT EVEN PORT FACILITIES WOULD BE GRANTED. SHIP VISITS WOULD BE TREATED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORILY, EDUARDO ADDED THAT THE PROVISION OF FUEL AND SUPPLIES TO SHIPS IN EFFECT MEANT THE GRANTING OF BASE RIGHTS AND WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED.

- 7. ECONOMIC RELATIONS: AS EXPECTED, THE MPLA COMPLAINED ABOUT US RESTRICTIONS ON THE SALE OF THE BOEING AIRCRAFT AND THE POLICY OF CABINDA GULF ON OIL PAYMENTS. HOWEVER, THE MPLA INDICATED A DESIRE TO HAVE WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, TECHNICIANS, AND AID AS LONG AS IT WAS NOT TIED. COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH THE WEST WOULD BE WELCOME, BUT OLD AGREEMENTS MADE UNDER THE PORTUGUESE REGIME WOULD HAVE TO BE RENEGOIATED.
- 8. MILITARY EQUIPMENT AIRCRAFT: CODEL BELIEVED THEY SAW A MIG-15/17/19 SERIES AIRCRAFT AT AIRPORT. AIRCRAFT WAS HARD TO SEE BECAUSE PARKING STANDS ARE PROTECTED BY EARTH REVETMENTS. RUMOR IN LUANDA IS THAT MPLA PILOTS WITH G-91 EXPERIENCE ARE BEING TRANSITIONED INTO MIG'S. SEVERAL WESTERN REPORTERS TRAVELLING FROM CABINDA BY AIR SAID THEY WERE BUZZED BY A MIG-21, WHICH THEY RECOGNIZED BY THE DELTA PLANFORM.
- -- ARMOR: CODEL COULD SEE TANKS, POSSIBLY T-54'S, AND TRACKED AMPHIBIOUS ARMORED VEHICLES BEING UNLOADED FROM SHIPS ONTO RAILWAY CARS

ARTILLERY: CODEL SAW TOWED ARTILLERY WITH TEN FOOT GUN TUBES, PERHAPS 122MM, BEING UNLOADED.

- 9. MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS: THERE WERE MANY CUBANS AROUND LUANDA (ONE RUMOR HAD IT THAT CASTRO WAS PLANNING TO ATTEND THE FEB 4 CELEBRATIONS), AND THE CODEL SAW THREE TRUCKS FULL OF CUBANS. THE LOCAL MPLA MILITARY POLICE ARE VERY YOUNG AND ARMED WITH RUSTY WEAPONS, IN SOME CASES SLUNG FROM THEIR SHOULDERS BY STRING RATHER THAN SLINGS. FOOD WAS IN SHORT SUPPLY AND THE MEALS AT THE CONTINENTAL WERE SCANTY FARE. GASOLINE AT \$1.50 A GALLON APPEARED TO BE RELATIVELY AVAILABLE, WITH TRAFFIC LIGHT, BUT A FAIR NUMBER OF CARS STILL ABOUT.
- $10.\,$  PRIOR TO DEPARTING FOR LUANDA, CODEL MET WITH FORMER CONFIDENTIAL

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PORTUGUESE HIGH COMMISSIONER IN ANGOLA, ADM CARDOSO AND MINISTER FOR COOPERATION CRESPO. THEIR COMMENTS ARE REPORTED REFTEL. CARLUCCI

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